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postponed for a considerable time. Others again say that *Kútaw* robs it of its garments and dons them himself, to the great dismay and shame of the poor *kadudúwá*, who from now on is obliged to wear either no clothes or at least only such as are not cared for any more by its companions at the other side of the grave. The latter informants usually add that *Kútaw* refuses to ferry this *kadudúwá* over the pond, unless it gives its brand-new clothes to him; some of them say that it may happen that *Kútaw* takes to himself not only the clothes, but also the whole *kadudúwá* (as a kind of servant). One more detail was given me by a Bayag informant: if the dead person has only one of his forearms tattooed (not both of them), *Kútaw* cuts off this tattooed-limb and keeps it to himself.

To resume: some informants state that all *kadudúwá* are always ferried over the pond by *Kútaw*, but that those whose *innát* wears no new clothes, remain like that at least for some time to come, or are left to their own devices as soon as they reach the other side, without being able to find their relatives, at least immediately, while those whose *innát* wear new clothes without rent are either despoiled by *Kútaw* or kept back for at least a considerable time from the enjoyment that is their due. Other informants state that some *kadudúwá* are simply scorned by *Kútaw* and left on this side of the pond: either those whose *innát* wear old clothes, or those whose new garments have not been torn. On the other hand, when asked what *kadudúwá* are living in the realm of the dead, even these last informants generally affirm that they all do.

A *labbáń* is a kind of lagoon or pool of stagnant water, of a type found in abundance all along the northern coast of Luzon, between Sanchez Mira and Aparri, and even farther east. At Nagbabalayan there is also a *labbáń*, which consists of a pool of water separated from the Apayaw river by a small elevation of land; at every large rise of the Apayaw river, however, it forms one with the latter. This Nagbabalayan *labbáń* is the regular abode of crocodiles, to whom the Nagbabalayan people offer gifts at every sacrifice. But the name *lablabbáń* belongs exclusively to the pond that separates our abode from that of the dead. Such a reduplication as occurs here usually hints at something similar to what the simple stem implies. Thus *lablabbáń* would mean a *labbáń* that is not an ordinary one, and, considering its place and use, no further proof is needed to convince everybody that it is a very peculiar pool indeed. The following mysterious fact adds to its differentiation from any other *labbáń:*

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811 *Kútaw*'s boat, which is always fastened at the *dodóńăn* (place on
772 the bank of a river where a boat is fastened, landing place) on this
side of the pond when not in use, has only one *pidpíd* or side plank,
776 which means that one side of the boat is open and unprotected, and
nevertheless no water ever enters her and she never goes down. Thus
the *kaduduwá* is ferried over the water in a boat that consists of only
about one half of an ordinary one, a boat cut in two from stem to
stern. When asked how anybody could possibly cross the *lablabbáń*
in such a contrivance, the Isneg merely state that they do not know.
And in this they are most certainly right. But who would dare say
that the actions of the spirits have to correspond exactly with our
own? Their ways are not our ways, and that settles the matter.
Besides, the *lablabbáń* is not an ordinary *labbáń*, neither are *Kútaw*
and the *kaduduwá* ordinary men, so why should the boat be an ordi-
nary one?

772 The only other detail I have heard about the *lablabbáń* is that it is
full of cogon grass (*labbáń*) and of worms.

Kútaw himself was once described to me as wearing a coat from
776 which a certain portion of cloth had been torn out entirely, and his
292 headax or *alíwá* as being deprived of one of its essential parts, namely
411 the *sáwit* or blunt projection at the back (cf. CAC–P, 1:233, fig. 68).

Once at the other side, the *kaduduwá* live a happy life in the
Aglalannawán (called *Tagtaggăyán* at Bayag) or realm of the dead:
775 it is good (*napiyá*) to be there. Their life is comparable to a dream:
they live in the same way as we do when we are dreaming. For the
rest, they do not change in their ways: they plant and reap as before,
have the same likes and dislikes, live on the same kind of food, with
none of their old preferences gone, and so on. The house they live
in, however, is not made of timber or bamboo; it is a real gold or
775 silver one. There they stay and never come back, except at times
and temporarily,—for instance, when they come to get one of their
787 relatives, in which case the latter is *makaduduwá*, becomes sick and
dies (such *kaduduwá* are called *gíbu-*), or when they enter the body
of a shaman in order to communicate with the living, or even appear
to the latter (perhaps only to the shaman), at the time of a *săy-ám*
sacrifice, etc.

775 It seems to result from all this that even the Isneg have a kind of
double fate for man after death: one of happiness for those who prove
acceptable to *Kútaw*, and one of privation for those who have to
remain behind or are left unguided at the entrance to the *Aglalan-*

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but they have never yet been able to see a ghost without some vagueness surrounding it. It should be noted in this connection that a *balańóbáń* has nocturnal habits.

But what is the ultimate fate of a *balańóbáń*? To this question the Isneg can give a definite answer: all *balańóbáń* decay in the end at *Magkébińán*. *Magkébińán* is the name of a cave, the usual dwelling place of all *balańóbáń*, and there their wandering life comes to an end sooner or later. Nobody can tell you anything definite, however, about the location of this cave or about the duration of a dead body's life as a *balańóbáń*.

All Isneg are convinced that tombs of wandering *balańóbáń* are empty and remain so. Once out of its tomb, no *balańóbáń* ever comes back to its former abode. And only the very few stay in their tomb; the generality of them start on their temporary wanderings as soon as they have been in the grave for two or three nights, long enough to dislike such a residence. Occasionally a few informants even state that no dead bodies ever decay in their graves. Nobody of course would venture to dig in a tomb in order to convince himself of the truth of his belief.

3. Causes of Death

What causes death? The Isneg seem to distinguish between two kinds of death, namely: what we would call "death by accident or death by violence", and "death from sickness". Under the Isneg viewpoint, however, the first kind of death has what I should like to call a "natural" cause, while the other kind has a "supernatural" cause.

Under the first head come all deaths whose cause is obvious and patent to everybody:

1. Death through murder or assassination (felonious homicide),—for instance, you plant a headax in the neck of your enemy and cut off his head. The Isneg, no more than anybody else, will doubt about the cause of your enemy's death. Here there is no necessity of suspecting the intervention of the spirits.

2. Death by accident or through judicial taking of life,—for instance, a man falls from a tree and breaks his neck, death ensuing, or a culprit is executed by the authorities, and so on. Here also the spirits are not considered as the immediate cause of death. To die like that is called *meránud* (past tense: *neránud*), while to die in general is called *matáy* (past tense: *natáy*). The stem *rānud*, in

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764 When the first outburst of lamentations, in the case of our dead
292 Isneg, has come to an end, the bystanders at once proceed to the preparation of the *innát* or corpse. The latter is first stripped of its old clothes, and carefully washed and cleaned; after that it is wiped dry and finally dressed up in the best clothes available. Some natives do not even shrink from clothing the corpse in silk, if their means allow such luxury; at any rate, it would be utterly shameful to the Isneg not to dress a dead body decently. This latter performance is called *magpoar-armát* (transitive: *paarmattán;* from the stem *armát*, "garments"). As has been stated before, each garment is partially torn (*maxáyxáy*) at one side.

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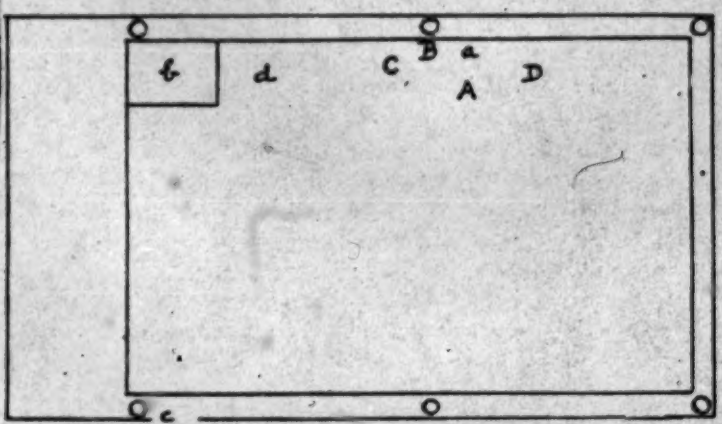

FIG. 3. FLOOR OF AN ISNEG HOUSE

A, Place of bier; a, place of the head of the *innát*; B, place of the *innát* in sitting posture; C, place of the *aróbon;* D, place of mourning relatives; b, hearth; c, door; d, place of woman in childbed.

764 In some places they insert a few *líbnó* herbs in the clothes of the
775 *innát* for the following reason: on its way to the realm of the dead,
772 the *kaduduwá* is supposed to pass through a camote or sweet-potato field, in which there is a hut inhabited by an old woman, who is intent on taking away from all passers-by their provisions and all their belongings; but if the latter have *líbnó*-herbs about their person, the old woman is powerless and they pass along unscathed.

764 In the meanwhile some others have been preparing the *tádag* or bier. The *tádag* consists of a certain number of entire bamboos, tied

to pay heavy indemnities to the relatives of the injured husband. When the husband is so inclined, he may take one or more wives, provided that he is wealthy enough to support them. However, the wife controls in marriage, her own inherited property.

When the husband dies, the woman retains only her clothing and returns to her relatives. All the property is divided equally among the children. If they are young, the man's relatives take and raise them, keeping the property in trust. Upon marriage each child receives his share.

RELIGION

The Apayao name for a god is "*anito.*" Now, it is hard for anyone to explain how all the "acts of God" are the activity of one single personality; as some "acts" are benevolent and others are malevolent. The Apayaos believe that different "acts" are the doings of differents *anitos*, some benevolent and others malevolent. Natural phenomena are explained as being the work of some *anito*. Each occurrence or activity of a person is governed by some certain *anito*. Therefore they may number up into the thousands. Thus one is constantly aware of his relations with the *anitos*, and the Apayao is very religious. For instance if he is setting a trap for wild pig in the forest, he will ask one *anito* to forgive him for trying to trap the pig; another *anito* to let the pig be guided into the trap; and another *anito* that the trap will spring and catch the pig.

Many *anitos* live in natural objects; but the most prominent ones dwlel in *Guynetban* in the sky. Each

776 one has his separate place there. They now speak a
772 different dialect (called *Elangit*) from the people, which only a priestess, *surraroqueb* can understand.

776 The head *anito*, who made the laws of the sky world and rules it, is *Hatan*. He dwells in *Naglasian* in a great miraculous palace guarded by an enormous snake. He has an automatic *gaod* which strikes as he wills. His shield shoots out fire (a flame thrower), and his spear kills nine men at a time. He uses fierce beasts to help in war and thus has conquered all the country. His wife, *Dinawagan*, came from *Nagcapanlunam*, which is still another world. These two are asked for help in time of need, especially in sickness.

Some time ago *Hatan* became infirm due to age, and so he endued his fourth son, *Ewagan* with his powers. This *anito* lived in *Aguingan* and got his wife in *Dudungan*. Her name is *Hinobangonan* and her father is *Cowatingconan*, while her mother is *Agdamgasam*.

Ewagan is the most notable of the *anitos* and is looked upon as a savior of the people. He has often helped them and is called upon in times of calamity, such as sickness. His only sister, *Hinalingan*, is his close companion. His older brothers are: *Dipparo*, *Haswan* and *Hinadolan* (nicknamed *Enoy*), who eats the hearts of the enemy. Ewagan's younger brothers are *Abbiawan* and *Imlang* (nicknamed *Egatang*). Whenever Imlang dances, everybody dances, even the trees. Ewagan married *Guimbangonan*, who had been contracted to *Dungcuan*,. son of a certain *maingel* named Dingpan.

IV. *INNAS*

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First Group: *Ki kayo ñga calagaab*
Intada ñga magdowas
Innas sa ianno onnas inballoballog
ogennas.

2nd Group: *Ay yo diamno dowas*
Aed ac lagud aumicad
Ta piniac makilaglagaak
Ki kao nga kalabeat.

First Group: Oh! beloved brethren,
Let us love one another.
Allright: forget the past and
Let us all love together.

2nd Group: Here I am with you, love;
Yes, I am here with you;
I want to be happy
With you my beloved brethren.

COSMOLOGY

Apayaos say that the earth is flat with edges, off 772
which the water flows and is caught by the moon 821
which returns it to the earth as rain. You can tell 823
when this will be done by observing the new moon. 221
If its tips (forming a container) are horizontal it 241
will not rain. If one tip is down, the water will run 805
out and it will rain. Camotes are planted during the
first and the last quarters of the moon. The positions
of ursa major and ursa minor determine the time of
planting most of the food crops. This is done by co- [476]
operative planting, *abugo*.